

R E V I E W.

Saturday, September 20. 1712.

IN my Examining the present State of Parties, I am come to that great Article practis'd by both Parties, *viz.* Of making use of *Papish* and *Jacobite* Tools, in carrying on the Building of a Protestant Revolution Government; an unhappy Practice! Where it begun we know, and I have shown, and God only knows where it will end.

I shew'd you in Miniature by my last but one, how the *Whigs* of the late Times, Sanctify'd the Practice their Example; I presume none of them will put to the trouble of proving that part.

I come now to bring it down to the present Ministry, which I shall do with as much plainness as you desire, and which, perhaps, none of you dare imitate; for I shall Vindicate joining with *Jacobites* no-body; but I shall impartially Examine the Reasons, and the Excuses on both Sides.

After the Attempt which the *Old-Whig Party* made on the *Modern-Whig Ministry*, as they call'd them, of which I gave you a Sketch in my last but one, it fail'd, and the late Lord Treasurer, the Duke of Marlborough, and all their Dependants had stood the Shock, and got the better of them; the Heads of the Party who had oppos'd them, finding they could not carry their Point, *vai'd, struck Sail*, and came in; and these, together with the late Ministry, make up the whole United Body, call'd the Party of the *Old Ministry*: I forbear here, the Reflections, upon the manner of their submitting to the Measures, which they had expos'd as *Abominable*; their abandoning their Friends who had stood by them in the Attempt, and several other Things, which not being to my purpose here, and therefore not absolutely necessary, I leave to cover, and help the Injur'd Gentlemen to forget.

After, I say, this Attempt had fail'd, the Heads of the Party who are now in the present Ministry, finding the Strength of the *Whig Party* weaken'd in their Interest, their Concert broken, and many considerable Supporters either gone from them, or staggering in their Party-Zeal, found also, that now was the Time to play their Game, and push on an Intercourse, which the Impolitick Conduct of the other, had for a long Time suffer'd to get Ground and Encrease:

The vigilant Eye of the Great Person, who was now become the Head of the Outed Party, was not capable of overlooking such an opportunity.—But taking his Measures warily, securely, yet *swiftly*, he strook the great Blow, effected what the other had fail'd in, and Overthrew them all at once: Thus, as I had long foreseen, and often foretold them, even in this Paper, their own Divisions made way for their Enemies to Overthrow them all.

I need not go back here, to the particulars of this great Court Revolution, it is too recent not to be in all your Memories, and full of too many unhappy Circumstances, to make the Repetition pleasant; but I come to the main point.

The present Gentlemen being possess'd of the Administration, WISE MEN, who saw the Consequences of the Breach, the Manner of it, and the Footing the New Prime Minister had gotten, saw plainly, it was too firm ever to be Overthrown by the *Whig Interest* again, at least as far as was in View, in this Reign; and foreseeing at the same Time, that a violent struggle of Parties might be fatal to the Nation, who were at the same Time involv'd in a Bloody War Abroad; these, I say, wish'd for an Accommodation, and a Temperament between the Parties; and some, in a sincere View for their Country's Good, endeavour'd it, and made Overtures towards it.

But the *Outed Gentlemen*, whether depending upon its being impossible, that the New Minister could stand his Ground, that he could struggle with the War Abroad, the Want of Credit at Home, and all the other Embarrassments, which they thought themselves able to throw in his Way; utterly refus'd all Accommodation of Parties, especially after the Parliament was Dissolv'd.—The Scabbard being thus thrown away, the dreadful War of Parties was Proclaim'd on both Sides, and the Fury with which it has been carry'd on, I need not enter into the Description of, *but I shall hereafter say something to it.*

The Endeavours the *Outed Party* used, and the length they went towards his Ruin, were such, as shew'd they were no Inconsiderable Party; the Skill with which the great Person I am speaking of defended himself, how he ward'd every Blow, how he succeeded

ceeded in every Step, and how he preserv'd his Schemes untouch'd in every part, I need not recount.

His first struggle was the *Nations Debts*, and the publick Credit; 1. The Credit, and this he got through, by the Frailty of these very People, who hoped to make it subservient to themselves; for having laid the Funds in Parliament, with but the Trifling Advantage of hardly one *per Cent.* more than usual, a Bait hardly able to cover the Hook, they crowded in their Money upon him, faster than he could receive it; so the Credit felt no Blow, or none to answer the End expected from it: The Debts he secur'd by the Establishment of a Perpetual Interest, and a *South-Sea Company*, which the loudest Clamours could never cry down, and which those People, who were loudest against its being set up, are now eagerest to have it preserv'd and provided for by the Peace, and forwardest to lay out their Money in the Stock.

The next Thing was the War; and this was look'd upon as a Weight the Ministry could not Support, but must sink under; but the Ministry finding such an obstinate Dispute at Home, presently saw it was absolutely necessary to them, to put an End to that Abroad, and so resolv'd, as a Step essentially to the Restoring Things at Home, to make a Peace Abroad.

The several Steps they took succeeded so well at first, as that the Allies were, at last, brought to Consent to a Treaty at *Utrecht*, and I may say, they hoped to bring it to a Peace; but whether, by the real Difficulties, or Political design'd Obstructions, it is not for me to enter upon here; Ways were found out to put a check to the Steps taken, and to make the Hope of a Peace, by a Publick Treaty, almost Desperate.

During these Things, the *Old Party* used all possible Methods to strengthen their Interest, and make themselves Formidable at Home; in the *Lower House*, they saw plainly they had effectually lost it; but in the *Upper House* they stood fair, and their View on that side, produc'd a pitch'd Battle, with all the Forces of either Party, in which the *Whigs* lost the Day, tho' they bought off, as they hop'd, the whole *N—nghamian Brigade*, who for a great and unheard of Purchase, they brought to a Resolution to desert the other in the Heat of the fight.

The Price of this piece of Party Treachery, for such as to Parties it may be call'd, was indeed great, viz. No less than the Civil and Religious Liberties of 2 Millions of the good People of England, I mean the Dissenters, who, as the Negroes in *Africa* sell their Fa-

thers, Mothers, Brothers, and Children, into perpetual Bondage, for Bells, Glass Beads, and Gewgaws, was all sold and given up for the unperforming insignificant Vote, of a *High-Flyer*.

To counter-act this killing Stroke, the prime Minister had Recourse to the Queen, as by Law her Majesty might do, to make more Votes, and there Overthrew that Attempt, and gain'd a Majority.

What now was the Consequence of all this? serv'd only to Convince the chief Minister, that Accommodation was to be hoped for, from Men who fought Desperate, that had resolv'd not to give, take Quarter, and that therefore Fight or Die was his Case: This drove the whole Ministry to make use of all the Hands that could be had, and (having the Practice of the good People beforemention'd, plainly laid down for their Example) to lay hold of the *Jacobite Party* at Home, *French Interest* Abroad, any that might be had; as a Man when his House is on Fire, Examines not on what Principle any Men acts, so be it he will help to put out the Flame—And this I take to be an Abridgment of our present Case.

Wretch'd England! To what dreadful Extremity art thou brought! — That every Party will embrace thine Enemies, rather than not carry on their private Ends!

But let us now Examine what they say for themselves on both Sides; they that were first in the Practice, were first Employ'd to form the Excuses, and if you allow them to one side, you must to the other: they are these Three among others.

1. The *WHIGS*, when they join'd with the *Jacobites*, said, that altho', they confess, the Thing was not justifiable, yet the blame ought to lie on them, who first begun the Practice, which they said was not them, but the Court *Whigs*, viz. The Ministry.
2. They said, they were driven to the Necessity of it.
3. They said, they made use of *Tories* and *Jacobites*, but it was only as Tools, that they, indeed, join'd with *Jacobite Interest*, but not with a *Jacobite Principle*.

I shall Examine these Things in my next.